

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3260

S E C R E T NEW DELHI 0347

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, IN, US
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON DEPARTMENT'S PROPOSALS FOR RESPONSE
TO MRS. GANDHI

REF: STATE 003633

1. IF INDIA-US RELATIONS FOLLOW THE PATTERN THAT HAS
EVOLVED SINCE MY ARRIVAL HERE, WE CAN EXPECT A PERIOD
OF RESTRAINT BY THE GOI. THIS WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY
PEACEFUL OVERTURES AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF JOINT ACTIVITIES.
A NEW AND MORE ACCEPTABLE AMBASSADOR TO THE US WILL PROBABLY
BE APPOINTED AND HE WILL PROFESS GREAT ADMIRATION FOR THE
US AND REFER OFTEN TO "SISTER DEMOCRACIES" AND ASK FOR
CONTINUED AID. THE MEETINGS OF JOINT SUB COMMISSIONS WILL BE
ENCOURAGED AND BUSINESS COLLABORATION SUGGESTED.

2. BASICALLY NOTHING WILL CHANGE AND THE PM WILL USE THE
US WHEN IT SUITS HER POLITICAL CONVENIENCE. SHE WILL
ATTACK THE US IF THE CPI BECOMES CRITICAL OF HER FOR
LIBERALIZING HER ECONOMIC POLICIES, IF SHE NEEDS TO APPEASE
THE CONGRESS LEFT, IF SHE WISHES TO PLEASE THE SOVIETS
OR IF BANGLADESH, US ARMS SALES OR ANYTHING ELSE BOTHERS HER.

3. IF WE ADOPT A VOCIFEROUS HARD LINE IN FACE OF THIS
POSTURE IT WILL REFLECT POORLY ON THE US AND ACCOMPLISH
LITTLE. WHAT MAY WORK IS A GENERAL AND CONTINUED SLOWING
DOWN OF CONTACTS AND COOPERATION AND A CONSTANT PRESSURE

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ON MY PART TO THE PM AND THOSE IN CONTACT WITH HER WHICH

PUTS THE QUESTION, "WHY SHOULD WE BE HELPFUL WHEN YOU
DISTRUST US AND BLAME US FOR YOUR PROBLEMS?" THIS I WILL DO.

4. I AGREE WITH THE SLOW-DOWN IN HANDLING OF PL480 AND DIRECT
AID. WE SHOULD NOT ENTIRELY CUT OFF OUR OFFER OF AID, WHICH
WOULD RECALL OUR CONFRONTATION IN 1971, BUT SHOULD INSTEAD DELAY
NEGOTIATIONS IN FY 1976 UNTIL THE LAST POSSIBLE DATE AND
THEN OFFER A "DISAPPOINTINGLY" SMALL AMOUNT (PERHAPS 10-20
MILLION). I ALSO SUGGEST WE BE MORE AGGRESSIVE ON PANAM
QUESTION AND AIR INDIA'S LANDING RIGHTS IN US. IF JOINT
SUBCOMMISSIONS ARE TO MEET, KEEP US PARTICIPANTS AT LOW
LEVEL, DROP OUT CONCLUSIONS, LIMIT COMMITMENTS, ASK HARD
QUESTIONS AND DEMAND FIRM ANSWERS.

5. AS TO THE IMMEDIATE QUESTIONS, I HAVE ASKED SENATOR
MCGOVERN AND HE HAS AGREED TO ASK THE PM IN A PRIVATE
MEETING TOMORROW FOR SPECIFIC INCIDENTS OF USG INTERFERENCE
IN INDIA'S AFFAIRS AND TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT AS A
LONG-TIME FRIEND OF INDIA HE IS GREATLY DISTRESSED
AT GOI ATTITUDE IF WE ARE BEING USED IN A GAME OF
"DUCKS AND DRAKES." WE SHALL REPORT ON HIS MEETING.

YM I AGREE THAT OTHER DIRECT AND STRONGER MEANS WOULD
NOT ACHIEVE OUR PURPOSE TO REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF UN-
FRIENDLY TALK; BUT THERE ARE SUBTLE MEANS OF GETTING
THE MESSAGE ACROSS THAT UNTIL SUCH UNJUSTIFIED ATTACKS
ARE BROUGHT TO A HALT INDIA CAN EXPECT LITTLE OR NOTHING
FROM USG. THIS APPROACH WILL FAIL, HOWEVER, IF EFFORTS
CONTINUE TO GIVE INDIA EVERY POSSIBLE BREAK IN TRADE
ACCOMMODATION, AIRLINE MONOPOLY AND EASY EXCHANGE OF
S&T KNOWLEDGE. THE STATE DEPARTMENT MUST INSIST THAT ALL
CONTACTS FOR BENEFITS TO INDIA MUST CLEAR THROUGH IT AND
VERY DELIBERATELY SET A POLICY OF RESTRAINT AND CAUTION.
THEN IF WE FIND THAT MRS. GANDHI DOESN'T CARE, WE CAN
FURTHER CUT BACK ON WHAT WE ARE DOING ACCORDINGLY.

7. WHEN I RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS I WILL SEEK AN EARLY
APPOINTMENT WITH CHAVAN. THERE HAS BEEN NO FORMAL REQUEST
FOR CONTINUATION OF SITE, ONLY CASUAL SUGGESTIONS, SO I
WILL NOT RAISE THIS UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THEY MAKE A REQUEST.

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I CAN SEE NO BENEFIT OF MY RECALL FOR CONSULTATION BUT
BELIEVE I CAN BE MORE USEFUL HERE TALKING TO THE FEW
PEOPLE THAT HAVE HER EAR; I AM NOT SURE THAT CHAVAN IS
ONE OF THIS GROUP.
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